

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ATHENS 2702

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, TU, GR, CY, US
SUBJECT: GOG FOLLOW-UP ON BRIEFING ON EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN
POLICY DECISIONS

REF: ATHENS 2686

1. MFA DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS TZOUNIS CALLED IN THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR ON APRIL 1 IN ORDER TO FOLLOW-UP ON THE BRIEFING THE AMBASSADOR HAD GIVEN ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AVEROFF THE PREVIOUS DAY (REFTEL). TZOUNIS SAID THAT HE AND HIS COLLEAGUES HAD NOW HAD A CHANGE TO REVIEW THE AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS AND HAD SOME ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS (TO THOSE AVEROFF ASKED ON FRIDAY) TO WHICH THE GOG WOULD APPRECIATE OUR ANSWERS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

2. CYPRUS: THE FIRST QUESTION, TZOUNIS SAID, CONCERNED CYPRUS. HE HAD WANTED TO ASK THIS QUESTION DURING THE BRIEFING BUT FELT HE SHOULD DEFER TO THE ACTING FOREIGN MINISTER AND, THEREFORE, DID NOT SPEAK UP. THE AMBASSADOR HE WENT ON, HAD STATED THAT THE PROGRAM HE HAD OUTLINED DID NOT IMPLY ANY LESSENING OF THE ACTIVE U.S. COMMIT-
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MENT TO A CYPRUS SOLUTION AND THAT WE BELIEVE THESE STEPS WILL ACTUALLY HAVE A POSITIVE EFFECT ON THE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THE GOG WOULD LIKE TO KNOW:
(A) WHETHER CYPRUS CAME UP IN DEPTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S DISCUSSIONS WITH THE GOT; (B) DID PRIME MINISTER ECEVIT GIVE THE DEPTY SECRETARY ANY IDEA OF WHAT THE PROPOSALS HE HAS PROMISED ON CYPRUS WOULD

BE AND, PARTICULARLY, WITH RESPECT TO THE TERRITORIAL ISSUE; AND (C) DID THE TURKISH PRIME MINISTER GIVE ANY ASSURANCES HE WOULD MOVE FORWARD WITH THE PROPOSALS SOON, AND WHEN.

3. BARBIS REPLIED THAT HE COULD NOT SAY WHETHER CYPRUS WAS PART OF THE DISCUSSION MR. CHRISTOPHER HAD ON THE PRESIDENT'S DECISIONS. MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTOPHER PARTY HAD INDICATED TO THE AMBASSADOR, HOWEVER, DURING HIS VISIT TO BONN, THAT U.S. OFFICIALS CONTINUED TO EXPECT THAT THE TURKISH SIDE WILL SOON PUT FORWARD ITS PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS AND HOPED THAT PROGRESS CAN THEN BE MADE TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE ADVISE HOW WE SHOULD RESPONDE TO TZOUNIS' QUESTIONS ON CYPRUS.

4. CYPRUS PROPOSALS PROCEDURE. TZOUNIS THEN SAID THE GOG CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THE TURKISH PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS SHOULD BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF THE PROCEDURAL AGREEMENT WHICH ECEVIT HAD MADE WITH UNSYG WALDHEIM LAST JANUARY. THE GREEK UNDERSTANDING OF THIS AGREEMENT WAS THAT THE TURKS OR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS (HE COMMENTED THAT THERE WAS SOME CONFUSION ON THIS POINT SINCE INITIALLY REFERENCE WAS MADE TO TURKSIH PROPOSALS WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY GOT CHANGED TO TURKISH CYPRIOT OR PROPOSALS BY THE TURKISH SIDE) WOULD GIVE THEIR PROPOSALS TO WALDHEIM, WHO AFTER CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSULTING WITH THE INTERESTED PARTIES WOULD DECIDE WHETHER A BASIS EXISTED FOR RESUMING THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS. TZOUNIS REPEATED THAT THIS WAS THE GOG'S UNDERSTANDING CONCERNING THE PROCEDURE THAT HAD BEEN AGREED TO AND THE GOG BELIEVE THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD BE HONORED. TZOUNIS SAID THE GOG WOULD APPRECIATE OUR COMMENTS ON THIS POINT AS WELL. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE ADVISE HOW WE SHOULD RESPOND.

5. U.S. POSITION ON CYPRUS. THE NEXT QUESTION, TZOUNIS CONTINUED, HAD TO DO WITH THE REFERENCES IN THE AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS TO THE CONTINUED U.S. COMMITMENT TO HELPING FIND A CYPRUS SOLUTION, ETC. DID THIS MEAN THERE WAS A NEW U.S. INITIATIVE IN THE OFFING? BARBIS REPLIED THAT THE AMBASSADOR HAD NOT MEANT TO SUGGEST ANY CHANGE IN THE U.S. POSITION WITH RESPECT TO CYPRUS BUT TO THE CONTRARY HIS REMARKS WERE A REITERATION OF THE U.S. POSITION ALONG THE LINES OF SECRETARY VANCE'S STATEMENT TO PRIME MINISTER CARAMANLIS IN JANUARY AND OTHER SIMILAR STATEMENTS BY U.S. OFFICIALS SINCE THEN. WE HAD MERELY WISHED TO REASSURE THE GOG OF OUR CONTINUED INTEREST IN HELPING TO FIND A CYPRUS SOLUTION AND TO SUPPORT THE

UNSYG'S EFFORTS IN THIS DIRECTION. ACTION REQUEST: ALTHOUGH WE BELIEVE THESE REMARKS SATISFIED TZOUNIS, IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO CONFIRM TO TZOUNIS THAT THEY ALSO REFLECT THE DEPARTMENT'S VIEWS.

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6. U.S. POST-EMBARGO PRESSURE ON GOT. TZOUNIS RECALLED THAT SECRETARY KISSINGER, IN EXPLAINING HIS POSITION IN FAVOR OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO TO GOG OFFICIALS IN THE PAST, USED TO MAINTAIN THAT EVEN IF THE EMBARGO WAS LIFTED, THE USG WOULD CONTINUE TO HAVE WAYS OF EXERTING PRESSURE ON THE GOT BY MANIPULATING VARIOUS PROCEDURES GOVERNING ARMS SALES (SUCH AS LICENSING,SUPPLY ARRANGEMENTS, AND THE LIKE) TO BRING ABOUT A MORE FORTHCOMING TURKISH POSITION ON CYPRUS. TZOUNIS ASKED WHETHER THE USG INTENDED TO EXERT SUCH PRESSURES ON TURKEY IN CONNECTION WITH CYPRUS IF THE EMBARGO IS NOW LIFTED. IN OTHER WORDS, HE ASKED, IN THE ABSENCE OF THE EMBARGO, WHAT DID THE USG INTEND TO DO TO TRY AND PERSUADE THE GOT TO MAKE PROMPT AND REASONABLE PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE ADVISE.

7. TZOUNIS INTERRUPTED HIS QUESTIONS AT THIS POINT TO COMMENT THAT HE ASSUMED WE WERE AWARE THAT EVERYBODY IN GREECE WOULD SEE THE LIFTING OF THE EMBARGO WHEN IT IS ANNOUNCED AS CONFIRMATION THE U.S. HAS CLEARLY CHOSEN TURKEY OVER GREECE. THE REACTIONS IN THE PRESS, IN PARLIAMENT AND "EVERYWHERE" HE SAID, WOULD BE COM-
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PLETELY CRITICAL AND OPPOSED TO THE U.S.

8. NATO; TZOUNIS' NEXT QUESTION HAD TO DO WITH NATO. DID THE SUBJECT COME UP, HE ASKED, IN CHRISTOPHER'S TALKS IN ANKARA. AFTER ALL, HE WENT ON, THE RATIONALE HAD BEEN USED THAT NATO CONCERNS AND CONSIDERATIONS REQUIRED THAT THE EMBARGO BE LIFTED, ETC., IN ORDER TO RESTORE THE SOUTHERN FLANK AND, THEREFORE, SOMETHING MUST HAVE BEEN SAID ABOUT NATO SPECIFICALLY. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE ADDED, THE GOG WOULD ALSO LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER THERE WAS ANY DISCUSSION OF TURKISH OBSTRUCTIONISM IN CONNECTION WITH GREECE'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH NATO FOR A SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP. ACTION RQUEST: PLEASE ADVISE HOW WE SHOULD RESPOND ON THESE TWO POINTS.

9. NEGOTIATIONS ON THE "SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP." TZOUNIS THEN BROUGHT UP THE HAIG-DAVOS TALKS WHICH, HE SAID, WERE NOT GOING AT ALL WELL. IN FACT, HE CONTINUED, THE SECOND MEETING BETWEEN THE TWO GENERALS HAD BEEN CANCELLED. GENERAL HAIG HAD RAISED TWO POINTS WITH DAVOS WHICH CREATED REAL PROBLEMS FOR THE GOG AND COULD EVEN JEOPARDIZE THE CONTINUATION OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ADDED THAT THE CONTINUATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS COULD BE AFFECTED IN ANY CASE WHEN THE ANNOUNCEMENT WAS MADE CONCERNING THE PRESIDENT'S DECISIONS ON AID TO TURKEY. BUT THIS ASIDE, TO INSIST ON THE TWO POINTS, TZOUNIS POINTED OUT, "WOULD BE LIKE SAYING YOU DO NOT WANT GREECE BACK IN NATO."

10. TZOUNIS THEN DESCRIBED THE TWO POINTS. THE FIRST ONE HAD TO DO WITH THE TASK FORCE COMMANDER CONCEPT, AN OLD PROPOSAL, HE SAID, WHICH THE GREEKS HAD CONSISTENTLY OPPOSED SINCE IT WOULD DETRACT FROM THE AUTHORITY AND COMPETENCE

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OF COMEDEAST (A GREEK OFFER). IT WAS INCONVEIVABLE, HE SAID, THAT THE GOG COULD ACCEPT THE TASK FORCE COMMANDER CONCEPT OVER THE AREA COMMANDER APPROACH SINCE THIS WOULD MEAN GREECE'S RETURN TO NATO UNDER CONDITIONS LESS FAVORABLE THAN THOSE PREVAILING WHEN GREECE WITHDREW FROM THE ALLIANCE'S MILITARY WING IN 1974.

11 THE SECOND POINT THAT HAD BEEN RAISED (PERHAPS BY ADMIRAL SHEAR RATHER THAN GENERAL HAIG) WAS THE QUESTION OF THE MILITARIZATION OF THE GREEK ISLANDS IN

THE AEGEAN NEAR THE TURKISH COASTLINE. TZOUNIS DID NOT ELABORATE FURTHER OTHER THAN TO SAY FLATLY THERE COULD BE NO DEMILITARIZATION OF THOSE ISLANDS SO LONG AS THERE WAS A TURKISH THREAT TO THEM, WHICH MEANT UNTIL THERE WAS A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. ACTION REQUEST: WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE DEPARTMENT'S QUERYING GENERAL HAIG CONCERNING THE TWO POINTS RAISED BY TZOUNIS WITH THE REQUEST HE INCLUDE EMBASKTSRHENS AS AN INFO ADDRESSEE OF HIS REPLY.

12. AEGEAN. TZOUNIS' FINAL QUESTION WAS WHETHER THE SUBJECT OF THE AEGEAN WAS DISCUSSED DURING DEPUTY SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER'S VISIT TO ANKARA. BARBIS INDICATED THAT HE DID NOT THINK THIS SUBJECT HAD COME UP BUT WOULD CHECK WITH THE DEPARTMENT. ACTION REQUEST: PLEASE CONFIRM. MCCLOSKEY

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